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585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

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/52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the guests lose its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a long trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

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The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nowa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

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1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

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allegorical roles, such as the role of a symbol of victory.... He also occurs in Lamaism as a human-faced bird with human hands, but then he appears to be only the adoring figure standing subordinate to another chief figure. When he is the figure of worship, he stands, with outspread arms and wings, facing a dying Yogi, his fangs /talons?/ piercing her breast. /Cited in German./ The chong live on Mount Sumeru, the T'ou-jen say, although Grunwedel (p. 180), speaking of the inhabitants of Mount Sumeru, does not mention the Garuda among them.

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A young man, Berg-tong-kouo, goes out into the valley every day to pasture his master's horses. Tche-mei-kouo, a young wife who lives on the plain, also comes there every day, bringing her sheep. They meet and sit down on the highest mountain, from whence they watch over their herd and flock.... Every day when leaving home, they climb up opposite sides of the mountain to join each other at the top. On the way they pick flowers and cypress branches. Every day they climb the highest peak together to light /53/ a fire there and burn their flowers and cypress branches, adding a pinch of flour made from parched wheat: This is their offering to the spirit Tsang-rtshiĕ; then they prostrate themselves piously....

The husband of the young wife had developed a hatred for the herdsman on the other slope of the mountain. One evening he goes to his home, gets him drunk, and kills him with a dagger blow. When he comes home, he gives his wife the dagger covered with blood. She does not succeed in cleaning it with hot water or with cold. Then, taking saliva, she slowly succeeds. This is a revelation to her. Early in the morning she anxiously climbs the mountain in order to go and see the herdsman. People are already burning his

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[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.] Concerning its meaning as "fate," cf. Part Two, II, 1, c. -- Perhaps the Chinese lung-ma is also only a phonetic imitation of this Tibetan rluṅ (air), which perhaps came about because the dragon-horse, which likewise is called lung-ma, appears in legends and tales as a wonder horse. In the Sining chronicle, in the chapter on the Koko Nor Lake, there is a passage concerning this dragon-horse. In certain times the T'u-yü-hun were supposed to drive their horses (quite bad ones, too) into the lake, and they would then couple with the dragon. The horses descended from them were supposed to be able to cover thousands of miles in a day.

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For the paper prints of the air-horses the Chinese usually say lu-ma (good-luck horses). They claim that the above-mentioned "releasing" of these horses, fang lu-ma, is an old Chinese custom, whereas the Tujen, Fandse, and lamas claim it as their own tradition. -- In addition, the Chinese have gold-yellow paper leaves attached to house gates, animals, etc., which they burn on various occasions. They are called chih-ma [63] (paper-horses) or piao-ma (leaf-horses). Although there is no horse-image on it, many people derive the ...ma from "horse."

The ta-ch'iu is a Chinese literary botching of dardzioġ; one hears this expression mostly in the region of Tangkar. dardzioġ corresponds to the Tibetan dar lcog (DMF, p. 44); according to Ch. Das

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gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be connected with them indirectly. They are recently elaborated [171] variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan ġadasë). Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called [821] xaldan ġadasë: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the [533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

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782 to throw the first (the first piece, the first drop, the first bowl,
192 etc.) to the heavens. For "first" they use the word toroñ. As a number it can be adjectival and substantival, in other words, "the first" or "firstling." In addition, it also signifies a blessing, an advantage, for example: kuni toroñ (the first of the people) is a man skilled in speech who can appear in public; or morini toroñ (the first among horses), an especially fast and strong horse. In exactly the same way the gift at the primitial offering is simply designated as toroñ. Whether a special blessing
782 is also to be indicated by it remains to be decided. I am not aware that especially good parts are taken for it; one does not take long to choose them, although care is always taken to see that they are not inferior, spoiled, or unclean. The primitial offering is always intended for heaven. Even where it is intended for several deities, heaven nonetheless stands in first place. Two kinds can be distinguished: the direct and the indirect.

782 The direct primitial offering is so generally widespread
264 among the Tujen that it strikes everyone who has ever observed the people at their meals. Usually it is done in the following
[826] way. In the case of beverages one dips the middle finger, which is the most superior one, into his drinking bowl, withdraws it again, and flicks the drop suspended from it into the air. This is done three times in succession. In the case of foods, for instance, bread or meat, a little piece is picked off and thrown high toward the heavens or backward over the shoulder. The direction in which one is seated does not matter. Sometimes it happens that one pours out a whole bowlful of the beverage. All confirm that they present this gift first to heaven before they themselves enjoy it. Only after heaven are they sometimes also thrown to other spirits.

782 The primitial offering is rooted deep in the consciousness
773 of the Tujen. According to their view it must extend back to the beginnings of humanity. Thus in the Geser legend
264 it is said of the first emperor Hamluo Siergān when he stopped on a [222] journey and boiled tea: "fulan tsiani sdzülgano, tsiani toroñni kuguo tieñgërdu tsiodlodzi" (when the red tea

[222 cont.]

782 boiled, he threw the first of the tea to the light heavens). The
773 firstling-offering is attested to even more clearly in the agricul-
264 ture myth (V. 680-690), when after long endeavor by the demiurge the first barley ripens and comes into the possession of human beings: "When after seven weeks they went to look, the barley was ripe. The head was bent over. With both hands they rubbed this (sc. the ear), which hung down like a whip. And when the kernels had come out, they wanted to make an offering to the light/heavens. They offered that barley and bent their heads to the ground. But there was no way to eat." In other words, even before the people were able to make use of the blessing of the new food, they offered the firstling-gift to heaven.
[192] The word šenlie, that is, to offer in the true sense, appears in the original text.

782 The indirect primitial offering is directed at the heavens only by the roundabout way of another offering. It is found in connection with almost all the offerings to the good spirits. In the religious customs one will scarcely find an offering that is not first made to heaven. This is shown by the actual offering act, the presentation, and the show of respect connected with it, the kowtow. Thus, the offering at the erection of the pole-goat, for instance, or even the obo offering is certainly intended for the weather gods or the mountain-spirit, and yet heaven receives the first three bowls; the other spirits come after it. Just as the human being first gives some of his goods to heaven before he uses them, so is it also in the spirit world. One could call this a primitial offering of the offering. There are naturally exceptions to this practice, as, say, in the case of the fire-pouring, torma, hen offering, etc., which belong more in the domain of Lamaism and of the Bon religion. By and large, however, the indirect primitial offering is always practiced.

The Incense Offering

In the section concerning the incense offering (see "First Part," Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 43 ff. [pp. 69 ff. above in the HRAF translation]), it was emphasized that it is offered to heaven first and afterwards to the other gods. In the "Notes"

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782 174 as a combination of a primitial offering with the matutinal incense offering. Even these gifts, however, may not have a bad odor, which wholly corresponds with the original meaning of the incense offering. 2. The incense offering, according to these texts, is already very ancient. Even if the legends are distressingly embellished from Lamaism, they nonetheless go back to pre-Buddhist conditions. This applies especially to the [773] Geser legend. Lamaistic monks in Kumbum emphasize that the legend has nothing to do with their religion. In similar 782 174 fashion this type of incense offering is declared to be pre-Buddhistic in western Tibet; cf. A. H. Francke, Tibetische 171 Hochzeitslieder, pp. 25 f. (Darmstadt, 1923). The pre-Buddhistic occurrence among the ancient Mongols has already been mentioned. The Tujen are of Mongolic derivation, and they also have religious links with the pre-Buddhist Tibetans, as is shown in the wedding customs and songs (6). -- How far the

6. For the distribution of the incense offering, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 49 [pp. 80-81 above in the HRAF translation]. Its occurrence in ancient China also argues in favor of its being pre-Buddhist in character; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder, Die Fandse, p. 183, where the ancient Chinese burnt offering is equated with the incense offering of the Fandse. The Na-khi juniper incense offering, whose great similarity with the incense offering of the Tujen and the Tibetans cannot be denied, is also pre-Buddhist; cf. the descriptions by J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff., and Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

782 174 [538] incense offering goes back is indicated by the hunting song cycle. It was probably already practiced in the early period of a hunting culture and from there passed into the herding culture. It is

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782 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the in-
174 cense offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is

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7. The ancient nature of the incense offering is to be explained in the final analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense
782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collec-
[776] tive name, are called purgan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. Mountain heights seem to have been preferred
[823] in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

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782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme

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8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression ġarġa, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a living road to heaven. The shamanistic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to heaven. The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

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being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, op. cit., pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with brGya-byin, the lord of the gods."

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings [241] that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

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782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tieńgĕre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieńgĕre, uluon purgan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeńglatsien San is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

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776 called tieñgĕre here as the dwelling place of the gods. He has a spouse, sons and daughters, a magnificent residence, a splendid army. In short, the emperor of heaven and his realm are pictured in detail according to human conceptions of earthly khans. At the request of the earthly emperor his son is reborn in this world in order to free them from the evildoers. This is Geser Khan.

Next to this figure, however, there continues to exist the formless old tieñgĕre, [228] as the above-mentioned citations from the Geser legend show. He is venerated through incense offerings, and one prays to him. Here is an old conception that has been taken into the legend. The legend itself is not of Mongolic origin, but perhaps belongs in the world of the Bon with their Tibetan homeland. Despite its repudiation by the Buddhists, it was embellished with many Buddhist additions, and the lamas play a certain role in it. Now, however, every people that claims the legend as its own, including the Tujen, has further incorporated its own material in it and wants to see in it in some way or another the foundation of its old popular customs. Therefore even if the figure of the heaven-emperor is accepted, the old tieñgĕre nonetheless remains alive in the consciousness of the people and also makes his entry into the Geser legend; indeed, he continues to exist as the supreme deity in rank, regardless of whether this can be harmoniously reconciled with the other heavenly figure or not. The attitude of the people can best be rendered by the passage already cited above and given here in more detail, Verses 158 ff.: "Climbing onto the high mountain, he burned great incense, implored heaven (tieñgĕre), implored the countless spirits (purgan), implored Sdeñlatsien Sañ, implored Warintsien Sañ, implored Sĕma Lortsien Sañ." In other words, heaven comes first, and only after the other gods the three rulers of heaven. The preeminent position of heaven cannot be more clearly expressed. It also clearly shows, however, how here two views still not blended together go along side by side and how little the people trouble themselves about inner coherence, but cling to what they have. The tieñgĕre is the most important deity to

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776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The Sdenlatsien San has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept purgan, a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition, the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven. What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit yifula. A Tibetan
551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, ri-bo
192 lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this name, translated it, however, with the Chinese Shan-shen pao (mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf. above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads, however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to W.A. Unkrig, this is found in the combination: ibel (protection) and ula (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation corresponds to the Chinese translation. Yifula thus would be appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too -- as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied an important position; cf. "The Obo," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees, and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He is the guardian of the ayil (village, tribe) and guards its weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus

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The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects [782] man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieńgĕre dž̌oǵ nãńladzi tieńgĕrdza perlõńgĕ bõdzi rĕdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of 577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in 626 relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi- [192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesĕn ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

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776 773 Heaven and creation. -- Even though the Tujen ascribe to heaven all the benefits of life, this still does not mean that they also derive from it the origin of the world. They do not concern themselves about it. "The old man gave no clear answer to the question as to whether heaven had also created the earth and human beings, where they came from: 'Who knows that? Who asks about it? No one says anything about that.'" (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873.)

According to the Geser legend a world with living beings was present from the very beginning. In this world there lived the "lama existing by virtue of himself" (arãṅ sündẽ lama = P'an-ku). He is by no means God, for above him there already existed heaven, which threw down in a boot the first emperor, who was raised by this lama. It is then described how the earth became populated. Finally, there still exist original beings (original animals), and it is likewise not said where they come from. Here Buddhistic, Lamaistic, and ancient popular conceptions are intermingled and run side by side. Nowhere, however, is there mention of any creation; only the first emperor came from heaven.

The same is also found in the agriculture myth. This [241] deals with the outfitting of the earth by a Buddhistically conceived demiurge. At the center of it is the creation of the food base through the bringing forth of barley from the magical vase and the introduction of agriculture. [233] This demiurge also comes down from heaven in three steps. There is no mention, however, of any creation of the world or human beings, only of an arrangement of the world into a habitable living space. The myth begins: "In the olden days of yore when the race of human beings had been produced, there was neither sun nor moon, and the race of human beings existed in darkness. There was no chance to live." Where the human beings came from remains unresolved. It says only, sẽmtsien kuni darladzia (the totality of human beings had been produced). One may assume, however, that heaven was involved, for the culture hero (who outfitted the earth) likewise comes from heaven, as does the first emperor of the human beings in the Geser legend, and later Geser himself.

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776 773 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniedzĕne tieńgĕre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 776 192 171 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune, which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say, that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžĕl, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzĕl.

šdiemdzĕl, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popularly end with the verse: moŋgol kuni lõnšda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžĕlgĕ rĕdziglaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžĕl would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžĕl cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džĕl, however,

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171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
752 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
752 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply docu-
776 mented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous
[787] popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

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171 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation
756 of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ..." is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved: with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. -- Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say, in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. -- Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia, and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra, Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on Grünwedel), op. cit., pp. 111-124.

174 Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between
756 bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature.
825 The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually, the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, how-
● [773] ever, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance, the Geser of the Tuǰen is supposed to have been sent to earth as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure. There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented helmet of the gNas-c'uń gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum," point in this direction.

174 [247] This connection between warrior and bird only
757 becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

[251 cont.]
lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lĕmu, sdier sĕmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby, as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sŭlde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the confused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the appointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a shaman is asked at what time and why men started seducing women, and women started eloping? An interesting sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

[p. 110 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most important. The shamans explain that the spirits in the temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that they may be able to protect the village against hail. Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.[9] The present rite takes the place of the

[9] This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

[p. 111 (A)]